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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1917

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Celebrating Independence Day in the National Capital in the Year of Our Lord, 1917

National Woman's Party

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Notes of the Week

A Literary Opinion

STANDING on this spot, in the shadow of Washington's Monument, the most proper place on the globe, on Flag Day, a most proper day, President Wilson delivered by far the strongest, the clearest, the most far-resounding speech he has ever uttered—that is my literary opinion—stating in extenso the causes which impelled this nation to enter the ranks of war. He is of right the mouthpiece, the spokesman of this mighty people, and his statement has been read of all men and will be read for all coming time. On that speech we must stand in history."

Speaker Champ Clark, in his Fourth of July address at the Washington Monument, referred in this way to the President's Flag Day speech—the speech in which he said, "This is a people's war, a war for freedom and justice and self-government, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it."

Women fighting for the federal amendment must differ strongly from Mr. Clark. The opinion of history is hardly a literary one. Something tells us that if the Democratic administration wants a reputation for democracy in history, a better move than a war speech would be to enfranchise twenty-seven million women.

"Woman's Place"

MRS. HENRY WADE ROGERS, treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, recently pointed out in the press, with the greatest good sense, that all women can do in a food economy campaign by thrift and sacrifice in their homes is the smallest item in settling the gigantic problems of food management that must be settled by the government. She observed that it is absurd to scold American housekeepers for wastefulness in these days of almost prohibitive prices without first attacking the faults of distribution and the outrageous manipulation of prices by food speculators.

Mr. Hoover's answer to Mrs. Rogers was inadequate. He suggested that while he did not think her paid by Germany, she was certainly helping the Germans. He seemed never to have thought of any wider economic activity for a woman than "cheerfully accepting the direction and advice of the food administration" and "communicating any views she might hold" in a letter to his department.

Since then, however, the press says, thousands of women have written to Mr. Hoover, indeed, protesting against the administration's putting the whole food burden on their shoulders and giving them no power to deal with it properly. They have pointed out the excuse given the food gamblers who are holding up the food control bill to spread the impression that American women will do all necessary to take care of the food supply.

Mr. Hoover has finally been impelled by protests to this statement—advanced for him:

"If they do this job well, and I have every confidence they will do it well, they deserve the vote as soon as the present crisis has passed."

Women Surgeons Organize Hospital Unit

THE first women's base hospital unit in the United States is now being organized by Homeopathic women surgeons, to be offered the War Department for overseas service. The movement was started at the convention of the American Institute of Homeopathy, held the end of June in Rochester, New York. Dr. Cornelia Brant, dean of the New York Medical College and Hospital for Women, is secretary of the unit. Other well-known women surgeons helping in the organization are Dr. Cora Smith King of Washington, member of the advisory council of the National Woman's Party; Dr. Florence Ward, of San Francisco; Dr. Sarah Hobson, of Chicago; and Dr. Margaret Hassler, of Reading, Pennsylvania. The women on the committee will enlist for service, if the unit is accepted by the government. Twenty-five doctors are required, seventy-five nurses, and about sixty orderlies and other helpers. A unit costs from $35,000 to $75,000 to equip.

The forming of this unit by American women will force the government to the issue of whether it will recognize women as medical officers or not. England has thus recognized them, and British women surgeons are now on duty back of the lines.

Where Democracy is in Fashion

ELIHU ROOT, anti-Democrat and head of the American mission to Russia, has donated 5,000 rubles to the soldiers of Moscow.

Women fighting for the federal amendment in this country would not at all object to like largess from the head of any foreign mission visiting the United States. Revolutionists for democracy, however, seem only completely in fashion when completely successful. And then even an Elihu Root patronizes them with a donation.

Antis to Crush Militancy

THE "drive" against the militant suffragists is on.

"Every fighting force of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage will be thrown out to crush the advance of suffrage, and particularly to check the activities of the members of the National Woman's Party. Headquarters of the antis were opened in this city today.

"Aggressive tactics will mark the first steps of the new offensive against suffrage. Mrs. Wadsworth, president of the organization, indicated that she intends to build up a strong working force, which will be used to offset the publicity activities of both suffrage organizations, and to stem any favorable tide that may develop in either branch of Congress."

The New York *World* thus warned the National Woman's Party on July 2 of tactics of frightfulness to be expected from the antis. All is still quiet in the Capital, however, as far as these ladies are concerned—though it may be the quiet before the storm of a decisive offensive.

The Suffrage Campaign of the Washington Times

THEY are anxious, indeed, in these critical days to have a voice in the government for which they must make such large sacrifices. The *Times* has not been discouraged by the talk that Congress is busy with too many things to consider the question of suffrage for the District. Public attention can be fixed on this issue. The senate and house ought never to be too busy to give the American people or any small part of their number democracy at home."

The Washington *Times* is here referring, not to women struggling for the passage of the federal amendment, but to a few thousand unenfranchised men in the District of Columbia. This paper is fighting in lengthy editorials to make a big issue of District suffrage.

The *Times,* since Mr. Brisbane acquired it, has offered to "fight for woman suffrage as well as it knows how." Its best advice at present, however, is that "this is not the time to irritate the President of the United States." It magnanimously suggests to the Woman's Party that they adopt the better plan of focussing their attention on the *Times!* "Come over and talk to us, bring your banners and all your woes. Let us together discuss them and map out an earnest, considerate campaign of moral suasion to be carried on with respect for the President during the war." The National Woman's Party has not yet, however, begun to picket Mr. Brisbane!

States' Rights in Germany

THE growing movement for franchise reform in Germany is centering its force on the Reichstag, which corresponds to our Congress. The imperial government, while willing to proceed at once to Reichstag election reform, according to a dispatch to the New York *Times,* still claims that the Reichstag should not interfere with the franchise in the states. The Socialists and other members of the radical parties, as well as an increasing number of leading Conservatives, are determined to press for national reform. Ten representative citizens of various political parties have issued a manifesto declaring that "immediate ballot reform devolves upon the Reichstag as the quickest agency for a successful result."

Suffrage as a War Measure in Holland

IN her speech, opening an extra session of the Dutch parliament at the end of June, Queen Wilhelmina reminded the new parliament of the almost unanimous declaration of the former parliament in favor of revising the constitution for franchise and educational reform.

"It is for the States General to decide whether the work thus begun shall be completed. No other measures will be submitted to you. Thus you will be able to devote your full attention to the questions arising from the war and preparations for the vigorous development of our country after the conclusion of peace."

The United States Convicts Eleven More Women for Demanding Democracy

MAINTAINING their right peacefully to parade or stand with banners, in spite of the opposition of the government, which is now distorting the laws of the District of Columbia in an attempt to prevent suffragists calling attention to the President's record on national suffrage, thirteen suffragists were arrested on Independence Day, July 4, 1917. Their crime consisted of attempting to walk one block on Pennsylvania Avenue, in front of the White House, carrying suffrage colors and a banner bearing a line from the Declaration of Independence. There was no attempt to stand at the White House gates, as they had for months been in the habit of doing, for the simple reason that the police made arrests —and collected by their so doing a large mob of onlookers—before the women had reached the gates of the White House.

Among those arrested were many notable women, representing many states. Miss Vida Milholland, of New York, who had led the great picket demonstration around the White House in March, carrying a banner with her sister's last words, "How long must women wait for liberty?" carried the same banner on July Fourth, when she led the first six women from Cameron House, the suffrage headquarters. She was followed by Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, the daughter of Representative E. J. Hill, of Connecticut, with a banner on which was printed, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." In the same group were Miss Gladys Greiner, of Baltimore; Miss Margaret Whittemore, of Detroit, and Miss Iris Calderhead, of Marysville, Kansas, daughter of ex-Representative Calderhead.

KNOWING that the members of the Woman's Party intended to maintain their right to picket, a scattering crowd, made up for the most part of men, had collected on Lafayette Square, across the street from the suffrage headquarters, unhindered by the police, to see the arrest of the pickets which the array of police promised. When the first little group of women emerged from the headquarters, the crowd on the opposite side of the street, following the police, went parallel with the women toward the White House. When the banner-bearers crossed the street to the White House and the police rushed upon them, the crowd surged across the street also, and increased by hundreds inside of a few minutes.

The police made no attempt to disperse the crowd, but directed their attack upon the women marching. There were five women in the little procession struggling to hold high the purple, white and gold banners above the close-pressing crowd of men. There were twenty-nine police officers detailed to arrest the women and clear the avenue, declared a newspaper report.

A few onlookers protested; the majority, taking their attitude from the police, also attacked the women, snatching at thair flags. Miss Kitty Marion, of New York, who for weeks has been selling THE SUFFRAGIST on the capital streets without molestation, was attacked by a by-stander, who snatched her papers and tore one up. Miss Marion was arrested, as was her assailant, after her protest. One young man snatched a flag from one of the women and was bearing it off as a trophy. When Miss Hazel Hunkins snatched back this stolen banner, she also was arrested by the zealous police, though she had had no part in the little procession.

WHILE the little group of arrested women, near the east gate, still clinging to their flags, were being bundled into commandeered automobiles by the police, another group of suffragists was marching unimpeded up Pennsylvania Avenue on the opposite side of the strect. At their head marched Miss Joy Young, of New York, diminutive of stature, but with such fervent determination in her concentrated gaze ahead that when the crowd caught sight of the second group of colored banners, catching the breeze like the brilliant sails of ships, they made way, and there was clapping of hands and cheers as the little procession went by.

In the second group were Miss Joy Young, Mrs. Frances Green, of New York; Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, a settlement worker, of New York; Miss Lucy Burns, of New York; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia; and Mrs. Lucile Shields, of Amarillo, Texas. The women reached the west gate of the White House before they were deterred by the police.

A Washington paper, in commenting on the strategic ability of the police in being able to arrest five unprotected women carrying six-foot banners, said: "The police used real headwork. Their first step was to ring the suffragettes about with guards, while they waited for more automobiles." When the police autos arrived each guard fell upon a woman and tried to wrest her banner from her. "Little Joy Young," goes on the same paper, "held on to her banner. She fought for it like a tigress, though she did not scratch. Before she was quelled one big cop threw his arms around her with a grin, another grabbed the top of the banner, while a third gave her banner a dextrous twist. They quelled her finally."

After this gallant victory for the police, the women were taken to the police station and booked for "unlawful assembly," with the exception of Miss Marion, who was charged with "disorderly conduct," in conjunction with three men booked on the same charge. Refusing to give bail because of the difficulty they had before experienced in having bail money refunded, all thirteen women were confined until the trial next day in the District house of detention.

TO Mrs. Weed and Miss Lucy Burns fell the cross-examination of the witnesses and attorney for the prosecution on behalf of the legally undefended women. Mrs. Weed insisted that the torn and soiled yellow banner bearing the sentence from the Declaration of Independence, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," be displayed in court; and throughout the trial it hung suspended from the judge's bench like a travesty. When the district attorney protested that the women with their small knowledge of law were not confining themselves to the point at issue, Mrs. Weed answered:

"It seems to me I am confining myself to the very unpleasant fact that thirteen women were arrested for peaceably and in an orderly manner walking on the public highway."

Miss Burns, in the course of the examination of police officers, asked why citizens carrying banners were protected on June 21, the date of the first so-called "riot," and arrested for doing the same thing on July 4.

The police officer responded that on June 21 pickets had been protected because he "had no orders" that day. The later orders were, he said, not to allow picketing, though he admitted there was no direction about seizing banners.

The two facts that were skillfully brought out by the cross-questioning of the women were that it was the action of the police that had collected a disorderly crowd and not the marching of the two groups of women; and that the judge himself at the former trial of a group of suffrage pickets had declared that marching pickets did not violate the law.

THE simple statement of Miss Vida Milholland as to her arrest is illuminating: "I was amazed to find myself under arrest. I came here on the 3d of March to take part in a demonstration against injustice to women. What I did then was to go out in the street holding a banner saying, 'How long must women wait for liberty?' There were nearly one thousand women that day who went to the White House and marched around the White House. The crowds were friendly and the police walked along with us and they seemed friendly, too.

"I had not had any opportunity to come down again until the Fourth of July. I came along, went out in the street with a plain suffrage banner of purple, white and gold. When I went out on the street, really and truly there was no crowd at all. I felt as though I were taking a stroll, walking along just ahead of five women. I was walking along doing exactly as I had on the third of March, and without even a crowd on either side as there had been on the third of March.

"I crossed the street, and somebody said: 'You can't come here.' I had been told to keep moving. I personally saw one of the officers stop women. I was surprised that what on the third of March was perfectly legal, on the Fourth of July was illegal. How could I possibly tell what was right and what was wrong? Am I supposed to read the minds of police officers?"

MISS LUCY BURNS summed up the case for the suffragists: "I wish to state first," she said, "as the others have stated, that we proceeded quietly down the street opposite the White House with our banners; that we intended to keep on marching; that our progress was halted by the police, not the crowd. There was no interference on the part of the crowd until after the police had arrested us and turned their backs on the crowd. Our contention is, as others have stated, that the presence of the crowd there was caused by the action of the police and the previous announcement of the police that they would arrest the pickets, and not by our action, which was entirely legal.

"In the first place I wish to call your attention to the fact that there is no law whatever against our carrying banners through the streets of Washington, or in front of the White House. It has been stated that we were directed by the police not to carry banners before the White House, not to picket at the White House. That is absolutely untrue. We have received only one instruction from the chief of police and that was delivered by Major Pullman in person. He said that we must not carry banners outside of headquarters. We have had no other communications on this subject since that time.

We, of course, realized that that was an extraordinary direction, because I don't think it was ever told an organization that it could not propagate its views, and we proceeded naturally to assume that Major Pullman would not carry out that order in action because he would not be able to sustain it in any just court.

"We have only been able since to judge instructions by the action of the police, and the actions of the police have varied from day to day, so that as a point of fact we don't know what the police have been ordered to do—what is going to be done. On one occasion we stepped out of headquarters with a banner—the so-called Russian banner—and it was torn to fragments before we had reached the gate of our premises, although Major Pullman had given no notice to us at that time. Another time we proceeded down Madison Place with banners, walking in front of the Belasco Theater, and were arrested. Another time we were allowed to proceed down Madison Place and the north side of the avenue and were not molested.

"Now the district attorney has stated that on account of the action of this court a few days ago, we knew and deliberately did wrong. But we were advised then by the judge—and he was familiar with the first offense—that we would have been all right if we had kept on walking. On July 4 we kept on walking, and this is the result of that action.

"I myself was informed on June 22 by various police, that if I would keep on walking, my action would be entirely legal. We were innocent of any desire to do anything wrong when we left our premises.

"It is evident that the proceedings in this court are had for the purpose of suppressing our appeal to the President of the United States, and not for the purpose of accusing us of violating the police regulations regarding traffic in the District of Columbia."

Following a summing-up by the district attorney, in which he covered the same ground as in the previous arraignment of suffragists, the eleven women were found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty-five dollars, or serve three days in the district jail. All of the women refused to pay the fine and were sentenced to jail. The case against Miss Hazel Hunkins, who was arrested for saving a suffragist banner, was dismissed. Miss Kitty Marion, whose papers had been snatched from her, was found not guilty of disorderly conduct. Of the large number of men who rendered gratuitous aid to the police, two were arrested. Both were found guilty and fined twenty-five dollars.

Advertising Democracy

By Nina E. Allender

ON Madison Place, facing the White House, stand two buildings.

One is surrounded by the Washington police, crowded with reporters and faced by batteries of picture machines. The people who go in are women, who, in a fashion all their own, are fighting for their political liberty.

The house next door is the Belasco Theater, unnoticed by the police, neglected by the reporters, and the people who go in are paying good money to see the fight one woman made, in a fashion all her own, for liberty—the film story of Joan of Arc.

The moral of this being, that only time can tell.

Burning at the stake is no longer customary; roasting by the press has replaced it.

This, however, is not a reference to martyrdom, for it is not seriously believed even by those making the accusation that these calm, deliberate, calculating, college-bred women are "craving martyrdom." Rather they understand the modern value of publicity. A little help in advertising democracy at present cannot be a bad thing.

Right or wrong, these women at Cameron House have put the government on trial, and the government has responded to the test in the same spirit with which they greeted the famous parade of March 3, 1913.

It is a pity there were not more women observers in those crowds which attacked the unresisting pickets. It is well for women occasionally to catch sight of men whom they have considered peaceable, judicial citizens when the mob spirit assumes control.

With eyes that gleamed, with lips drawn back, with hoarse, ugly noises issuing from hundreds of throats, a sea of straw-hatted men surged from gate to gate in front of the White House following the gleam of banners which bore self-evident truths. The women stood motionless holding the bare poles, while men snatched for every scrap of bunting.

Said a negro sweeper to his partner: "I dunno what them women want, but they ain't skeered."

Again and again the "thin line" of purple, white and gold issued from the suffrage headquarters, marched steadily forward, entered the crowd as into an ocean, to be submerged with only empty poles and reaching hands to show where they had gone down, beneath the rage of, not an "alien enemy," but the men of their own land to whom they were appealing.

Men who had not been near enough to read the banners flaunted the scraps of purple, of white and of gold as trophies. A recruiting sergeant entered the crowd, saying, "Come boys, you've shown your fighting spirit, now enlist!"

"Stick around, boys," cried one man; "get in the front row for the movies; I was in this morning." And Timmins, patriotic Timmins, of New York, posed for the camera while distributing his card and explained how he tore the banner from its frame, while the women stood perfectly still, with the empty frame. The policeman who had permitted the banner to remain rebuked Mr. Timmins—because he had not had time to copy the words.

Picketing had been allowed all winter, the police had not yet read the banner or condemned it; yet Timmins, on the plea that it did not please him, was permitted, unmolested, to destroy it.

Women who are thinking this week—and women who were in that mob *are* thinking— have learned two things. One, that to be able to protect herself is the only sure thing, that men will protect her only under prescribed conditions—prescribed by them. Two, that the key to political freedom for women is in the hands of President Wilson.

Why was picketing allowed at the White House? Because the President did not interfere.

Why did the district attorney refuse to heed the appeal of the "prominent citizens" who taxid to him to demand the removal of the pickets? Because the President had not spoken.

When will Congress pass the federal amendment enfranchising women? When it receives the order stamped "Administration Measure."

The Suffragist

Editors

Miss Vivian Pierce — Miss Pauline Clarke

Associate Editors

Miss Lavinia Dock — Miss Crystal Eastman — Miss Pauline Jacobson
Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel — Mrs. Gilson Gardner — Miss Fola La Follette

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Business Department

Advertising, Miss Hazel Hunkins — *Circulation*, Miss Elizabeth Smith

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THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status

In the Senate
Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

"The Sweetness of Our Rights"

ON July 4 twenty-five thousand people crowded the stadium of New York to see a war review, and to hear Secretary of War Baker speak on the war plans of this government. In the midst of a pageant of soldiers and sailors—a display of the United States' power to spread democracy through the world, as President Wilson has put it—Secretary Baker made his address. He gave facts about the preparations for fighting. Then he closed with a solemn warning:

"We must look to the end of this great business. We at home must fight for democracy here as well as our armies for it abroad. In the midst of our military enterprises we must be equally loyal to our own political theories here.

"We must preserve the sweetness of our rights. We must agree in deeds of grace here, as our soldiers do deeds of grace on the other side. For I can see the day when this harbor of yours will be filled with the mass of ships returning from abroad and bringing back our soldiers. When those heroes step off the boats and come ashore and tell us that they have won the fight for democracy in Europe, we must be able to tell them in return that we have kept the faith of democracy at home and won battles here for that cause while they were fighting there."

The masses of people were swept to their feet in full response to these words.

While Mr. Baker was thus defining in New York his conception of the duties of patriotism at this time, twelve women were held in the House of Detention in the national capital—because they had fought for "democracy here." Two days later they were tried and sentenced to jail—because they had "kept the faith of democracy at home." They were convicted because they demanded that this administration enfranchise women.

The Secretary of War of the United States made this definite statement in favor of internal reform in war-time, while the government in Washington was framing absurd charges to try to intimidate women from demanding it.

The National Woman's Party needs no encouragement from the Secretary of War to persist in its fight for the passage of the federal amendment. Yet these words of his must encourage suffragists through a wider significance that they have at present.

Secretary Baker is one of the heads of the government. The note he sounded in this speech is as yet a solitary note in this administration. An acknowledgment that there may be democratic reforms to make in this country is radical from a member of President Wilson's cabinet.

But Mr. Baker has expressed an idea that will grow in popularity shortly—an idea that will soon become decent. He has cautiously sounded the first note of that common sense of democracy of which the masses of people in the United States are convinced—that this government should practice democracy first at home. The press may be expected to discover, the administration to act upon this idea presently, as the first war hysteria dies away—as it must die away—into realization of the united service required of the men and women of this country in the present danger.

Meanwhile the women fighting for the federal amendment will follow Mr. Baker's advice—and go on fighting. They will keep the faith for democracy as they have kept it. They will push with unfailing determination the democratization of this country for twenty million women as the most patriotic of national duties.

At present the government is jailing these fighters in increasing numbers. Mr. Baker's words, however, are good omen that the light is coming to the President of the United States.

"Alive–Oh!"

Mobilization Planned at Picket Breakfast

"ALIVE!"

It was Miss Vida Milholland with her song, "Alive-Oh!" that was spontaneously adopted, who struck the keynote, not only of the occasion, but of the new spirit of the suffrage demand today, when seventy-five men and women gathered at Cameron House last Sunday morning, in spite of a heavy rainstorm, to welcome the return of the eleven suffrage pickets from their three days' stay in the District jail. Representatives from many Eastern states were there, eager to volunteer for service on the picket line in the fight that must still be fought. Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe, wife of the Immigration Commissioner of New York, and chairman of the New York City Committee, acted as toastmistress at the breakfast. In her introductory remarks she feelingly dwelt on the fact that whether some women deny them or not, the pickets who are making sacrifices for democracy do represent in spirit the women of the nation.

"We all know," said Mrs. Howe, "that a large and increasing number of the women of the nation do hope and pray in thought before the doors of Congress. They have done so for many weary years. Is it not time at last that at least a small and increasing number of women should stand before these doors of Congress, not only in thought and feeling, but also in fact? These doors of Congress could not always be taken theoretically. It was inevitable that in course of time certain women should discover that there are trains which will carry them to Washington, where they can stand before the actual doors. It is absolutely inevitable that some of us should stand in body where all the waiting, hoping, praying suffragists of the nation are standing in spirit. And this is what makes the pickets our truest representatives. And yet there are those who say, 'Why they are just a handful; they represent nothing at all.' Where is your imagination? These women do not represent themselves. They are absolutely impersonal. They represent the women of the nation. So the women who deny the pickets, the pickets who express them, are denying their own spirit—and that is the tragedy of the criticism of our effort. The waiting and praying women of this nation, those who do deny the pickets, are denying their own hopes and their own prayers."

MISS MARGARET WHITTEMORE, who had come to Washington for the great March demonstration of pickets, and who for the second time made the trip from Detroit to protest for democracy at this critical time, assured suffragists that the West was mobilizing women for this struggle within our borders as courageously as the men for overseas service. She said:

"I almost started to say 'Your Honor.' Perhaps we will have to get in the habit of saying it! Coming through the West to Washington, the one thing I noticed is that the United States government is mobilizing an army—an army of fighters. But I doubt if any of the mobilization which has been going on throughout the country recently has organized more determined fighters than the little army of eleven who came out of jail this morning. We thought we knew what it meant to fight for liberty and to work for democracy before this experience. But we had three days to consider, and I think we appreciate the idea of liberty more now than we ever did before. We have removed the last lines of convention; we are down to hardpan now, and can begin working again for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States without anything to bind us.

"It was very interesting to go into court the other day and hear the evidence. It was very interesting to stand on the street before we were taken into court—imprisoned by hands on our wrists, hands on our banners, but with plenty of opportunity to gaze at the open spaces we were charged with 'obstructing.'

"It was also interesting to watch the judge *try* to decide what he would do with us, realizing as we did that the decision had been already made. For when we got to prison the babble of the prisoners soon told us that *our cells had been cleaned early in the morning ready for the eleven of us, before we had even stepped into court!*

"Now the government can keep on doing that sort of thing as long as it likes, if it thinks it is going to stop our fight for justice. But we, too, are mobilizing. We are receiving telegrams, letters, from all over the country—women mobilizing to fight the opposition in the White House."

MISS JOY YOUNG told a story of her mother's long wait in court on the day of the trial, how she listened to the conversation around her and finally explained to a colored woman why there were "such lots of white folks in court."

"'Are the suffragists in again?' commiserated the colored woman. 'They'll have to pay a lot of money!'

"'No,' said my mother 'they will not pay a penny, because they have done nothing wrong; and they will keep on as they are doing because they are determined to win.'

"'Termined to win, are they?' echoed the colored woman. 'Well, when a woman's 'termined she's the most conquerin' thing there is!'"

Other returned pickets who spoke words grave or gay about the new meaning of democracy were Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, a member of the national executive committee; Miss Iris Calderhead, of Kansas; Mrs. Frances Green, of New York; Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, of New York; Mrs. Lucile Shields, of Texas; and Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, of Connecticut. Dr. Cora Smith King spoke as an officer of the National Council of Woman Voters, and also, she said, "as a potential rebel for liberty to active rebels."

It was Miss Lucy Burns who said the final word, introduced by Mrs. Howe as another of those impatient for justice. In this connection Mrs. Howe recalled the words of Francis Parkman: "The difference between myself and God is—God is not in a hurry; I am."

EVEN our enemies," said Miss Burns, "even the chief enemy to democracy in America, the President of the United States, concedes that we are fighting for a just cause. The situation today is that we are demanding justice from the President of the United States, and he is denying it. We stand at the gates of the White House to represent, as Mrs. Howe said, our appeal for justice. And the only policy that can be decided upon at this time, when the love of democracy throughout the world is said to be sweeping the country, is to declare that standing quietly at those gates is not an illegal act. We all know that it is not an illegal act. There is not a single law that declares such an act illegal. When they trump up a charge of obstructing the sidewalk we can easily prove in open court that that small charge is false. Nevertheless a sentence is imposed, first on a small group, then on a larger group. At the same time we are told in stern tones that the next group that commits such an act will receive a still greater punishment.

"Mrs. Howe has told us we must regard our opponents with a sympathetic mind. But it is difficult to understand how any person with a grain of sense can imagine he is going to stop a movement for justice by imposing longer and longer sentences.

"I only want to say this to the President of the United States: If that is all you can think of in the way of meeting a demand for liberty, if that is the best you can do, if that is in accord with your conscience—go ahead and impose such sentences. The women of this country will be found equal to whatever burden you think fit to place upon them. But if your own peculiar regard for the law, and for the justice which the law is supposed to embody, forces you to punish free women with prison sentences, do not forget to meet the demand which you yourself have acknowledged to be a just one. Punish women if you must, but liberate the country over which you now stand as ruler!"

After quiet had been restored in the drawing-rooms following Miss Burns' appeal; after men and women were once more seated, Miss Vida Milholland sang the song that is destined to become the new prison song of suffragists, an old ballad called "Alive-Oh!" It is the song Miss Milholland sang to her fellow-prisoners, the song she finally sang in the great outer court of the jail to the prisoners as a whole. The chorus, say suffragists, partly expresses the protest in the suffrage movement. Following Miss Milholland's singing, one thousand two hundred and thirty-one dollars was collected and pledged, in a few minutes, to carry on the work of the Woman's Party.

The States Uphold the Picket

Picket Protests May Keep Country Safe for Democracy

FROM every section of the country, from organizations affiliated with the National Woman's Party, and from suffrage and other organizations that in the past have raised no voice for the national enfranchisement of women, are coming protests against the arrest of the women who are making a struggle to carry on the battle for suffrage at this time. Minnesota, Washington State, Colorado, Virginia, New Jersey, South Dakota, New York, Iowa, Virginia, Massachusetts have sent from meetings, telegrams, letters, duplicates of protests to the chief executive. The nation is behind the protest of the suffrage pickets. "If the liberty of women with colored banners is not safe, it is time that the country as a whole took up the fight of the suffrage picket," said one woman.

Mrs. Frederick Story Forrest
Washington State Chairman

Miss Anne Martin, legislative chairman of the National Woman's Party, responsible for the gigantic labor of the continuous letter lobby on Congress and the President, which has all session shown the temper of the country on woman suffrage, has in the last few weeks seen the demand for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment in wartime change in a dozen states to a demand, in addition, that the women of this nation be left free to urge their own cause through the picket.

COLORADO, one of the first states of the West to protest to Congress against the arrest of pickets, has held protest meetings in Boulder, Colorado Springs, and Denver, and demanded action on the part of the Colorado delegation. The Colorado state committee, headed by Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, Mrs. Lillian H. Kerr, and Dr. Caroline E. Spencer, have spoken at many meetings. Mrs. Dora Phelps Buell, one of the notable women of the state, has presided over mass meetings.

"Women need the protection of the vote now even more than in times of peace. Picketing was originally undertaken to bring home to the nation that women are still waiting for this elementary measure of justice. That they should be arrested for 'standing and waiting' is a comment, not on the women, but on the government," declared Mrs. Bertha Fowler, at the Colorado Springs protest meeting.

The demand of the Federated Trades Council of Colorado Springs for the passage of the suffrage amendment now illustrates the attitude of labor toward the suffrage demand at this time, and suggests that labor may be forced to protest for women on behalf of its own rights at the Capitol.

FROM Virginia come resolutions from Miss J. S. Jennings, state legislative chairman of the Woman's Party, representing the Equal Suffrage League of Appomattox, and from the Woman's Party state headquarters. Virginia women in the protest forwarded to the President state that the pickets were "not protected by the police or shown any consideration by the court." The National Woman's Party of Oregon under Dr. Florence Manion; the Minnesota organization led by Mrs. A. R. Colvin; the New Jersey branch under the chairmanship of Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, have all interpreted the action of the pickets at Washington, and protested to the government. Demands for speakers are being made to the national headquarters, and Miss Mabel Vernon, who was first arrested and ably defended her stand and that of her fellow pickets, has during the week spoken in Norristown, Hartford, Boston, Framingham, Philadelphia, and New York.

Washington State Reorganizes

FOLLOWING the Washington State conference last week, held at the Washington Hotel in Seattle, the following state committee was elected for the year: chairman, Mrs. Frederick Story Forrest, Spokane; vice-chairmen, Judge Rhea Whitehead, Seattle; Mrs. Otis Floyd Lamson, Seattle; Mrs. Wallis Williams, North Yakima; Mrs. William Trowbridge, of Interlaken, Tacoma; Mrs. Marion Green, Seattle; Mrs. Mary Haight, Bellingham; secretary and treasurer, Mrs. John Milholland, Seattle; chairman legislative department, Mrs. S. L. W. Clarke, Seattle; chairman Suffragist committee, Miss A. Furman; chairman organization department, Miss Inez De Lashmuth.

The Spokane Teachers' Association was one of the organizations to appeal to the President for the passage of the national suffrage amendment at this time. Miss Ross will assist in the organization of the Idaho and Wyoming conferences during the next few weeks.

District Organization of New York

THE organization of New York State by districts is being pushed by Miss Elsie Hill, who, during the last two weeks, has held a series of indoor and outdoor meetings in Syracuse, Rochester, and Buffalo. Mrs. John Winters Brannan, acting state chairman, is directing the state campaign and speaking at conferences. Headquarters have been opened in Buffalo, where a district conference will be held on July 24, with Mrs. Marie Jenney Howe and a representation of suffrage pickets as the speakers.

Senator Wadsworth, who had come to Buffalo to make a Fourth of July address, met with a warm welcome at the hands of local suffragists. A deputation headed by Mrs. R. O. Frothering-ham asked his support for "suffrage now" as a war measure. When the senator blandly informed them that he always was and always would be an anti, a street meeting was held outside the door of his hotel, at which the general public was acquainted with his record by Miss Elsie Hill. When the senator spoke at the out-of-door Polish picnic, handbills demanding that he work also for American freedom were distributed.

Mrs. Ralph Lyons
Secretary of Louisiana Branch

Louisiana Joins the National Woman's Party

IN the midst of the struggle for democracy in Washington it is significant to know that the last of the Southern states has entered the nation-wide battle for the federal suffrage amend-

ment. Louisiana comes into the National Woman's Party with a powerful suffrage group. The fact that a member of the older group of suffrage workers in Louisiana, Miss Kate Gordon, has upheld the present stand of the Capitol pickets, lent interest to the advent of the new organization.

Mrs. St. Clair Thompson, Southern field secretary of the National Woman's Party, had spent some weeks in Louisiana dramatizing the active suffrage fight in Washington to Louisiana women. At the end of her stay she was joined by Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Delaware, and the two women spoke at a score of New Orleans meetings as well as at the state conference.

With more than two hundred women present the conference was held in the convention hall of the Grunewald Hotel. Mrs. W. J. O'Donnell, president of the Louisiana Equal Suffrage League, the youngest of the state associations, was chairman of arrangements and made the conference address of welcome, while Mrs. M. L. Graham Bankston acted as temporary chairman.

"The old suffrage associations have been the wishbone of the suffrage movement," declared Mrs. Bankston, "but the National Woman's Party has become the backbone of the suffrage movement!" Mrs. O'Donnell pointed out that the history of a country or movement was the history of its leaders, and that the persecuted of one generation became the eulogized of the next. Mrs. Thompson outlined the history of the battle for the federal amendment, while Mrs. Hilles dealt with the so-called militant phase of the movement with which she has been so closely associated. Her epigrammatic talk was warmly received.

With Mrs. Alice Cosu, Mrs. Alfred Phelps, and Mrs. D. L. Saunders as a nominating committee, the following officers were proposed and unanimously elected for the coming year:

Mrs. M. L. Bankston, state chairman; Mrs. Harry McCall, Mrs. Ed. Moore, Mrs. Ralph Michel, Mrs. Gilbert Dupre, Mrs. Henry Chaffe, Mrs. Ike Stauffer, and Mrs. Hamilton Tebault, vice-chairmen; Mrs. Ralph Lyons, secretary; Mrs. W. J. Roach, treasurer; Mrs. Cosu, subscription chairman, and Miss Stephanie Levert, member of the advisory council.

Mrs. M. L. Graham Bankston, the Louisiana state chairman, is a woman of wide experience in suffrage, club and literary work. She was the first woman journalist in the South who owned and edited her own paper, working with Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Caroline E. Merrick, of Louisiana, along political lines. Mrs. Bankston is the editor and publisher at present of the *Mississippi Valley Voice.*

Comments of the Press

"A Foolish and Dangerous Game"

OUR worthy neighbor, the WORLD, thinks that the "charming young women" who have been picketing the White House with suffrage banners are on a level with "slackers who resist the law of military service;" between the young women and the slackers there is "a difference of sex only, and not of spirit."

The WORLD is really very indignant about it. It happens that the WORLD mildly supports suffrage, but this does not blind it to the "opera bouffe aspects" of the White House picketing.

In a word, the women have been parading banners with certain legends written thereon. The police, and choice young rowdies of Washington, too—the same who made such a foul spectacle of themselves at the suffrage parade of March 3, 1913—have been roughhousing the women, and giving them "comfortable cells" in local jails. Or, at least, the WORLD says they are comfortable cells.

There is one point that occurs. Has the intrepid editor of the WORLD read the banner? Has he digested the meaning of the words upon it? IS IT OR IS IT NOT TRUE THAT MILLIONS OF AMERICAN WOMEN ARE DEPRIVED OF VOTES, while Root is saying in Russia that we have universal suffrage in this country?

And, if that statement is not true, why are the women not called short and ugly liars? And, if it *is* true— Well, why not use up whatever vitriolic wrath there is in trying to get the shameful condition removed?

The suffrage movement is based upon one thing, and all the so-called antics of the suffragists come from that thing—the fact that in most of this country the women have no vote. The moment they get the vote, that moment will the "foolish and dangerous" game cease. The WORLD believes in woman suffrage, but not quite enough to want to do anything for it.

Elihu Root is making unctuous speeches to the finest and the truest democrats of all, the Russians, in the course of which he wilfully, or unwittingly, misrepresents the American political system. The President of this nation, rhetorician extraordinary of democracy, says that he stands for the rule of the people; he says that he voted to give the women of New Jersey the vote; but he has passed up innumerable opportunities of aiding the women of the entire country to get the vote.

A word from Wilson, and a federal amendment would pass both houses, and would thus be referred to the states. But that word has never come.

What is there in the banner of the Washington pickets that offends, if it is not the galling and annoying truth of the words painted on it?

The WORLD is the sort of a "democrat" that a lot of people are; they serve democracy principally by a vigorous longitudinal motion of their lips. But there the service ends.

The methods of the Washington pickets may be offensive, or they may be futile. But the main point of it all is the hypocrisy that such action uncovers.

The lack of suffrage is a crying disgrace, and when one contemplates political events in Russia, and even in tory England, one is compelled to admire those women who take extreme means of hammering home their message.—*The New York Call, June 30.*

The Spread Eagle

THE suffrage pickets in Washington objected to the statement made by Elihu Root to the people of Russia that the United States has "universal suffrage." The suffrage pickets were unreasonable enough to resent such a statement because it is untrue. Just as if this isn't a time for grandiloquent praise of one's native land!—*Miami Metropolis, June 30.*

Government Inconsistent

MISS KATE GORDON, learning that great interest has been manifested in her opinion about the White House pickets for the National Woman's Party, recently attacked and removed by the Washington police, gave out the following statement Sunday:

"As a suffragist I believe every legitimate means to present the inconsistency of our government in its attitude to women should be employed. To charge the Woman's Party with treason because it tells the truth at a diplomatically delicate time, is but another evidence of how little what constitutes treason is understood.

"There is no doubt that a nation entering the bloodiest of wars for the vindication of 'consent in government,' and maintaining its own women a 'subject class' is vulnerable to attack. There can be no treason in stating a fact, and in the interpretation of our principles of government in their application to women, our government has been faithless. Except in twelve States we are not a democracy—we have a sex oligarchy. Alas, in ten States women are subjects of men who are not even citizens of the United States, aliens who have declared their intentions to so become. The Woman's Party in warning the Russian Commission to give the Russian women a squarer deal than the women of America have gotten in the long experiment we have had with a so-called republic, have shown more patriotism to the ideals of our government than the men and women who advocate governing and taxing women but deny them representation.

"The man Timmins and the anti-suffrage woman were the lawless subjects, when they charged on the personal property of the pickets. If it is lawless for these pickets to stand in rain or shine and protest in a government where free speech is a tenet, then the government is *particeps criminis,* for it has not interfered in the six

months that the methods have been practiced under the shadows of the executive mansion.

"Knowing personally both Miss Burns and Mrs. Lewis, I know these gentlewomen are actuated to assume the ungrateful role of picketing because of a conviction that it is the best way to make the citizenry of the United States realize the hypocrisy of the nation to our principles of government. Mrs. Lewis is the sister of that distinguished physician, Dr. Howard Kelly, of Johns Hopkins,who has been such a crusader against the crimes perpetrated against women and children in the white slave traffic that so dishonors our nation. It may be she is so well informed on what some women have had to endure, that she is impelled, because of the faith that is in her, to make the fight she is making in behalf of less fortunate women."—*New Orleans Times-Picayune, June 25, 1917.*

Pickets Have Not Ruined the President's Health Yet

PRESIDENT WILSON has not been jarred by the war. In health he never was better. He is up to date on his mail and appears less worried than at any time since he assumed the presidency.

He gets up at 5 every morning and goes for a horseback ride with Mrs. Wilson. By 8.30 he has had breakfast and is ready for his mail.

Appointments are made for both morning and afternoon, but most of the personal business occurs in the afternoon. It is not unusual for Mr. Wilson to run over to the war department or the federal trade commission's offices to see some man on business he wishes to straighten out at once.

The President has not given up golf. About every third day he goes to the Washington Club and plays eleven holes. Doctor Grayson is still his riding and golfing companion.

About three evenings in the week the President goes out. One of these is sure to find him at the local vaudeville theater, and another at some other theater where there is a non-serious attraction. The serious in dramatics does not appeal to Mr. Wilson. He takes his serious drama from real life.—*Gilson Gardner in the Philadelphia North American.*

The Week in History

The rebel Russian envoys came
To Washington with pollity;
The White House pickets showed the shame
Of suffrage inequality.
Which made D. C. policemen flock up
To lead the ladies to the lock-up.

—*C. W., New York Call, July 1.*

David Lawrence Assists

IF anything could excite sympathy with the pickets, in Washington, it would be such utterances as those of Mr. David Lawrence in the *Evening Post.* He says: "The public opinion of the states which might have been moved to expeditious action by convincing arguments and orderly appeals, will now bide its time until assured that the women voters would understand the fundamentals of citizenship."—*New York Tribune, July 1.*

Drawn by Lou Rogers for the New York Call, July 1

Alice Paul at the Trial

Lines on an Olympian

OH, Mr. David Lawrence, read your article again,
Don't you think it sounds a rather priggish note?
You wouldn't preach like that, you know, to any group of men
Who were doing what they did to get the vote.
You might criticise their methods, you might deprecate their way,
You might call for the police, or disagree,
But you wouldn't in that proud Olympic manner seem to say:
"There, there, if you are good, perhaps,—we'll see."—*Alice Duer Miller in New York Tribune, July 1.*

The Only Safe Democracy

WOMEN need not be discouraged. The clouds have broken for them. Not long now must they endure the stench of dirty streets, death-bearing to their children, the saloon thrusting its nose into their backyards, the thousand and one evils which result from masculine law-making, which knows no woman's pity in its sentences, no woman's soul in its phrases and no woman's thirst for justice in its conception. She will be loosed here, as she will be in England, from the tyranny of subjection, and the march toward our ideals will be visibly quickened by the warm spirit of her participation.

The world can be made safe for democracy only when democracy is made safe for woman.—*Philadelphia Evening Ledger, June 24.*

Picketing the Woman's Party

PICTURE, if you will, a beautiful garden adjoining a historic old mansion within a stone's throw of the White House, and in the garden a number of small tables at which groups of interested women and a few men are discussing with animation the latest development in the suffrage campaign.

To a casual observer, it would have looked like an ordinary garden party, but the initiated knew that the place was, so-to-speak, under siege. Across the street, in Lafayette Square, Washington policemen were picketing the Woman's Party, to prevent the Woman's Party from picketing the White House. High above the stone wall surrounding the garden, and supported by the wire fence on its top, could be seen the gay banners of purple, white and gold that today spell "Votes for Women."

At one table sit six women who have just been released from jail, after serving a three-day sentence. They were really in jail less than three days, but in that short time they learned many things. With the same alertness that has characterized their work in the National Woman's Party, they investigated, as far as they could, the conditions surrounding them in jail. One woman, accused of committing murder, had spent seven months "watchfully waiting" to be called to her trial. Another, held only as a witness, had "served" three weeks, and could only wonder how much longer she would be barred from giving her testimony.

What the future has in store for national suffrage we do not know. What is in the minds of the women is absolutely clear. They do not court hardship and are not anxious to be "martyrs," but they are ready to make any sacrifice that their freedom demands.—*Philadelphia Press, July 1.*

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List of Contributions from June 23 Through July 7, 1917

Contribution made to National Headquarters:

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Miss Aline E. Solomons	2.00
Miss Eliza Tonks	5.00

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Total collected by National Headquarters	$ 2,131.15
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	237,461.50
Total collected by National Headquarters through July 7, 1917	$239,592.65

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Mrs. C. H. Baldwin	5.00
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Grand Total	$273,987.12
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